

THE ALGONQUIAN SERIES

BY WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER



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Patawomeke and **M**assawomeke

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THE ALGONQUIAN TERMS
PATAWOMEKE (POTOMAC)
AND
MASSAWOMEKE

With Historical and Ethnological Notes

BY
WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER



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THE ALGONQUIAN TERMS PAT
AWOMEKE AND MASSAWOM-
EKE.*

THE significations attrib-
uted to many of the early
Algonquian names of
places or peoples which have been
retained in use from the first plant-
ing of the colonies until to-day, are
in most instances totally at variance

*This paper was contributed to *The American Anthropologist*, for April, 1894, vol. vii. pp. 174-185, a quarterly published by the Anthropological Society of Washington, D. C.

with the localities or subjects to which the names were originally applied by those who spoke the language. This anomalous state of affairs is due to the fact that the translator endeavored to find an etymology suitable to the present topographical features without trying to discover whether or not the name rightfully belonged there. Some are random conjectures, without a particle of traditional, historical, or etymological foundation; others are based on hypothetical deductions derived from foreign radicals. These last two are as persistent as any, in defiance of their evidently false analysis, and

will continue to be quoted in historical works and essays until their true etymologies have been given and generally accepted.

Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull* has shown that Indian geographical names (and it will apply to others not geographical), after their adoption by the English, Dutch, and German colonists, became unmeaning sounds or mere vocal designations, their primary significations being entirely obliterated by their transfer to an alien tongue. A mountain, for instance, takes the name of a lake; a tract of land, that of a hill; a swamp, the per-

* Indian Names in Connecticut.

sonal name of an Indian residing there; a spring of water, that of a forest; a river, that of a people, or *vice versa*. The Indian language tolerated no such mere marks; every name was descriptive of the spot or subject to which it was applied, and thus, to an Indian understanding its identity, was beyond question.

Some of these terms in local speech of the whites have for various reasons become abbreviated by the loss of some constituent. These are all problems of the most intricate description, and their interpretation will always remain in doubt in case the original cluster-

word has been lost or forgotten. Therefore it is absolutely essential for the proper resolution of synthesis by analysis of Indian nomenclature that the student should have at his disposal, for the purposes of comparison with various cognate dialects, the earliest utterances of the names as recorded by those who heard them spoken, together with the historical facts relating to the same which have been preserved.

The interest in Indian nomenclature increases every year. The true meanings of the terms are desired by the historian and by everyone interested in the various

branches of anthropology. The question, therefore, naturally arises, Is it possible by study and research to evolve an etymology from these names which shall be acceptable from every standpoint of comparison? I believe that the greater number of these terms can be translated much easier than the Maya hieroglyphs, or the petrographs of the Algonquian stock. Their translations corroborate the early historians most abundantly; they supply a solution to many unsettled questions and give us more reliable data for historical investigation.

Some of the names mentioned by Captain John Smith have been in

constant use since his day, with but slight change in spelling. Nearly all of these belong to the Powhatan language, which was more closely related in its radical structure to that of the Indians of southern New England than to the language of the Delawares, who were geographically nearer. From this fact it can be easily seen that the works of Roger Williams, John Eliot, and Josiah Cotton, together with William Strachey's Virginia Dictionary, afford abundant and reliable means of interpreting the geographical names and tribal designations displayed on Smith's well-known map of Virginia, as well

as those incidentally mentioned in his various works. When careful and intelligent comparison of these languages is made it is comparatively easy to find analogies in other dialects of the same stock. This cannot be done, however, without much preliminary study and without the aid of the work already accomplished by many patient Algonquian scholars. If their conclusions are correct, we have a very strong basis for our own deductions; if in error, we must learn where they have failed and endeavor to avoid similar lapses.

In this little volume I propose to give the results of careful inquiry

into the etymology of two Virginian names with the same terminations, but a different nominal theme. It is generally accepted and admitted that both of these names—viz., *Patawomekes* and *Massawomekes*,—although applied to people of distinct linguistic stock, are undoubtedly of Algonquian derivation, and therefore need no argumentative discussion at the present moment.

Minute and studious scrutiny of Smith's works will fully convince the seeker after truth that the name *Patawomeke* (= *Potomac*),* as ap-

* In 1722 the Potomac River was called by the Five Nations the "Great river *Ka-*

plied to the river, although so bestowed on Smith's map and retained to this day, did not primarily belong there ; neither does it always designate the name of a town, as supposed, but really, in its early orthography and grammatical structure, described the people themselves. The bestowal of the name on the river by Smith, as was the case with other names of rivers in Virginia, was not out of regard for the meaning hidden therein, but because it designated the largest tribal community living on the stream.

hongoronton," at which time they agreed not to pass over it to war against the Virginia and other Indians (Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. v. pp. 671-673).

The location of their principal settlement or palisaded inclosure, of 1608 and some years after, was identified by Thomas Jefferson and quoted by Bozman,* who says: "This Indian town is said to have been on the spot where the Virginians subsequently laid out a town, which they called New Marlborough, on a peninsula in Stafford county, Virginia, formed by the Potomack river and a large creek called the Potomack creek." There can be no doubt as to the actual location of the village on the spot indicated; but for all our knowl-

* History of Maryland, vol. i. p. 118—see Note on p. 34.

edge concerning the discovery of this people and their town we are indebted to Captain John Smith, who learned of their existence at the time he was held as a prisoner among the tribes who were encamped between the James and the Rappahannock. He remarks: "Hee [Powhatan] described also vpon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called *Pocoughtronack* [= *Bocootaw-anauks*, 'the fire nation' *

* *Bocootaw*, "fire" (Strachey); *-anauk*, "nation" or "people." "Those people whom Powhatan calls the *Bocootawwonauks*, who [he saith] doe likewise melt copper and other mettalls" (Strachey, p. 27). This would seem to identify these people with the *Assistagué-eronnons* of Champlain, which in the Huron tongue

(Strachey), located to the northwest from the falls of the James river], a fierce nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of *Moya-oncer* and *Pataromerke*, Nations

means "Fire nation." On Champlain's map of 1632 they are placed south of Lake Erie. Charlevoix (tome i. p. 447) mentions a tribe under the name of *Mascoutin*, or "Nation of fire," who were then located still farther west (Doc. His. N. Y., vol. iii. p. 23). A mistake made by many scholars has been the endeavor to identity the terminal *-anauk*, of this name, and *-anough* or *anock*, of *Sasquesah-anough* (see my study of the Name Susquehanna in this series), with the Delaware *-hanna*, "a river." When this hypothesis is ignored entirely, as it should be, as far as all of the names of Captain John Smith and Wm. Strachey, which have this termination, are concerned, and the interpretation of "nation" or "people" applied, making these ele-

vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay." *

It is evident, in fact we know, that many of Smith's statements in regard to the *Patawomekes* were not from personal observation, but were derived from letters or from relations by his contemporaries after his return to England. He says (p. 52): "The river is inhabited on both sides. . . Then [comes] *Pata-*

ments the cognate of the Massachusetts and Narragansett *añeuck*, "people," it brings truth out of chaos, and is not only strongly confirmed by Smith, but makes his history far more satisfactory and interesting. Comparison of the early Virginian names with the modern Delaware alone will cause failure in every instance.

* Arber's Smith, p. 20.

womeke with 160 able men"; but later (p. 348) makes it more than 200, thus showing an increase of 40 men since his first information. This proves that in the number of its available warriors the tribe was the largest, most prominent and powerful on the river.* Speaking of Captain Argall's trading with the natives, he says: "With a taste whereof he returned to Iames

* Bozman (Hist. Maryland, p. 118) says :
'It must have been an Indian town of considerable population, and the tribe or nation, numerous, as they either gave their name to their noble river upon which they were seated, or they, as the most considerable tribe on its banks, took their name from the river. At this time, as stated by Smith, they were able to turn out two hun-

towne, from whence the Lord De-la-ware sent him to trade in the river of *Patawomecke*." † Henry Spelman, whom Smith calls one of the best interpreters in the land (once a prisoner among them, and rescued in September, 1610, by Captain Argall on the aforesaid voyage), in his relation of the event speaks of the king of *Patowomeck* as if it were a tribal name, and that he lived a year or more at a town

dred warriors. According to Mr. Jefferson's conjectural proportion of warriors to inhabitants, at this period of time, to wit, as three to ten, the population of the Patowmeks must have been at this time about six hundred and sixty-six men, women and children."

† Arber, *op. cit.*, 172, 503, 511.

of his called *Paspatanzie*. This may be another name, or the real one, for the town called *Patowomeck*. Spelman further observes: "When Capt: Argall arrived at a town called *Nacottawtanke*, but by our english called *Camocacocke*, where he understood that there was an english boy named Harry. He desired to hear further of me came up the river which the Kinge of *Patomeck* hearing sent me to him and I goinge backe againe brought the kinge to y^e shipe." *

This was, no doubt, the first visit of the English traders to the river subsequent to Smith's second voy-

* Arber's Smith, pp. ciii, civ.

age of discovery, in 1608. At all events, we have no record of any in the interval. The town called *Nacottawtanke* by Spelman does not seem to have been the *Nacotchtanck* of Smith, for the reason that the latter was higher up the river and at the head of navigation. As the town was known to the English as *Camocacocke*, it was, perhaps, the same one called by Smith *Cecomocomaco* (= "sachem's house"). Assuming this to be the case, we can more readily understand why Argall was obliged to go up the river to meet the king, which he could not have done had he been at *Nacotchtanck* (*Anacostia*).

My reason for believing that *Paspatanzie* was the real name for the town of the *Patawomekes* is in its translation, which describes the spot where Smith and Jefferson locate the village at the junction of the creek with the larger river, viz., *Pasp*, "a bursting forth or flowing out"; *otan*, "a town"; *zie* (= Massachusetts *es-et*), diminutive form of the locative affix "at" or "about" = *Pasp-otan-es-et*, "a town at the mouth of the stream." * These extracts, together with my conclusions, are all links in the

* This name survives as *Paspotansy*, a creek in King George County, Va., and a post office *Passapatanzzy*, on same creek. If this was near the original *Paspatanzie*

chain of evidence against the name *Patawomeke* having been a name of the town from the aboriginal point of view.

Among the various meanings ascribed to the name Potomac appear the following: Heckewelder informs us that the form of the name should be *Pedhamok*, meaning "they are coming by water, drawing near in crafts and canoes." This conjecture is very near, but it would much better apply, as will be noticed hereafter, to the *Masawomekes*. The Jesuit Father of Spelman I am mistaken in identifying it with the Patawomeke town, except so far as it was one of the towns of that nation, and, as such, a rather unstable quantity.

Jacker* declares that the word indicates "small fishes," and gives the general meaning as "the river full of swarms of small fry, where fishes spawn in shoals." Still another idea advanced is that the term meant "bushy, or brushy river." "River of Swans" is another. Webster's Dictionary, under the stated authority of Schoolcraft, Trumbull, and Ballard, gives it as "the burning pine, resembling a council fire."† There may be others which I have overlooked, but here are evidently enough, such as

* Maryland Hist. Soc. Fund Pub., vol. vii.

† According to Pilling's Algonquian Bibliography. Rev. C. H. Wheeler was the

they are, without making further conjectures. It is acknowledged by James Mooney* of the Bureau of Ethnology, who has devoted much study to Smith's works, and also by many students of Indian linguistics, that none of these are etymologically satisfactory or acceptable. I would not venture to suggest another interpretation unless sure of its true analysis.

In Arber's reprint the name occurs about forty times, with at least seven very slight orthographi-

responsible editor of this series of geographical names. Trumbull repudiated all except his own, whichever they may have been.

* Personal letter to the author.

cal variations, as *Pataromerkes*, *Patowomeck*, *Patawomeks*, *Patawomekes*, *Patomecks*, *Patowomekes*, *Patawomekes*. The most common is the fourth variant. The first is, no doubt, a typographical error, while all appear in some instances without the anglicized plural. Taking any of these forms, which are nearly identical, as representing the true utterances of the native pronunciation and placing the accent on the penult, where it belongs, viz.: *Patowómeke*, we have its true value, as nearly as it could be presented in English notation. Allowing this basis of study, and considering that the name was originally

descriptive of the people, as I believe I have satisfactorily demonstrated, I will proceed to give its analysis.

In the first component, *Patow-* or *Pataw-*, we have a root with a characteristic termination or formative, in the inanimate object form, which represents the mitigation of the verbal energy of the simple transitive verb.* This verb is identical with the Powhatan,† *Patow*, “to bring agayne,” that is, to continue bringing (something regularly or habitually). Analogous to the Mas-

* Howse, Cree Grammar, p. 36 *et seq.*; also Eliot's Bible.

† Strachey's Dictionary.

sachusetts (Cotton) *Patau* (Eliot), *Paudtow*; Narragansett (Williams), *Páutow*; Delaware (Zeisberger), *Peta*, "to bring in"; Cree (Howse), *Péytow*, "he brings it." This verbal, being a common one, can be found, in one form or another, in all Algonquian languages. (Cf. *Pitanoki*: *apporter le produit de sa chasse*. *Pitabose*: *apporter un échantillon de sa chasse*.*

The second component has two elements, *óm* and *eke*, with the anglicized plural *s* sometimes added to the affix. This was frequently or invariably done by the English when speaking of the natives;

* Cuoq, *Lexique de l'Algonquine*.

therefore does not always appear rightly bestowed when added to a place-name; but in this instance, being a people, when the translation is made it is found to be correctly applied.

In giving the meaning of the penult *óm*, I cannot do better than to quote Dr. Trumbull's correct study of what is no doubt the same verbal, viz.:

“The verb of simple motion—that which expressed merely the notion of going—was in the third person singular of the indicative present *om*, or, as Eliot wrote it (with the pronominal prefix of the third person), *wom*; in the plural,

omwog, 'they go.' In combination with other words denoting the direction, manner, or agency of going, Eliot writes *-ohham*, and *-hom* for the singular; as *pummohham*, 'he goes by sea'; *nohham* or *nohhom*, 'he goes by sailing, he sails' (*en nohamun*, 'to sail to,' Acts xx. 16): *sohham* (= *soh-om*) 'he goes forth,' etc. For *omwog*, Roger Williams writes in the Narragansett dialect *homwock*, 'they go.' *

In the Powhatan dialect the animate plural affix is *-eke* or *-uke*, although these are sometimes varied, corresponding to the *-ick* or *-ock* of the Narragansett, *-og* of the

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1866, p. 376.

Massachusetts, and *-ek* of the Lenni Lenâpé. Thus we have our name in accordance with Algonquian synthesis, *Patow-óm-ek*, "to bring again they go and come," "those who travel to bring again": or, by a free translation, they were "traveling traders or peddlers" (of what?). Graphite or plumbago was highly valued and was an article of commerce among all the natives. Fragments bearing marks of aboriginal use are found in the western mounds, in the eastern shell-heaps, and scattered over the surface of village sites far removed from its original source of supply. Professor F. W. Putnam, in a letter

dated June 26, 1882, admitted that its presence in shell-heaps was unknown to him until I called his attention to the fact. An Indian settlement near Sturbridge, Mass., derived its name * *Metewemesick*, "place of black earth," from the occurrence of the article.† The *Patow-óm-ekes* perhaps take their name (applied to them by neighboring Powhatan tribes, being the first to use it, according to Smith, p. 113) from being owners of a similar mine and "peddlers" of this mineral, which Smith mistook for antimony.

* See R. Williams' Key, Narragansett Club edition, p. 207.

† See N. E. Notes and Queries, Newport, R. I., 1890, vol. i. p. 97.

Smith says, and his statements are always to the point :

“ In our returne inquiring still for this *Matchqueon*. The king of *Patawomeke* gaue vs guides to conduct vs vp a little riuer called *Quiough** [*Occoquan* creek], vp

* At one time I accepted Bozman's theory (Hist. Maryland, vol. i. p. 120, note) that Smith's "*Quiyough* river," was the present *Acquia* Creek ; but a critical study of Smith's Map of Virginia, as well as the early maps in Brown's *Genesis* of the United States (vol. i.), aided by the Coast Survey Charts, has fully convinced me that Bozman was mistaken in his identification, and that *Quiough* River was the stream now called *Occoquan*, on the boundary between the present Fairfax and Prince William counties. The name *Quiyough* belonged to a town of the *Patawomekes*, located well up on the stream. Therefore

which we rode as high as we could. Leauing the boate; with six shot and diuers Salvages, he marched seuen or eight myle before they came to the mine: leading his hostages in a small chaine they were to haue for their paines, being proud so richly to be adorned.

Occoquan (*Ocquoquan*, Fitzhugh's Will, 1700) having been the *Quiyough* of Smith, both Jefferson and Bozman are certainly mistaken in locating the early *Patawomeke*, at New Marlboro, below Acquia Creek, and that it must rather have been necessarily located on the neck below the *Occoquan*. Smith's own words prove this (Arber's Smith, p. 348), viz.: "Here [at *Patawomeke*] doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient branches [*Occoquan*, *Neapsico*, *Powells*, and *Mattawomen* creeks]. The greatest of the least is called *Quiough* trending northwest, but the river it selfe

“The mine is a great Rocky mountaine like Antimony; wherein they digged a great hole with shells and hatchets: and hard by it, runneth a fayre brooke of Christal-like water, where they wash away the drosse and keepe the remainder, *which they put in little baggs and*

[Potomac] turneth northeast, and is still a navigable stream.” These topographical features occur only at the junction of the *Occoquan* with the Potomac. That is to say, hereabouts the Potomac turns northeast, while *Occoquan*, the largest branch, trends northwest. *Ocquoquan* describes the “bend” or hook at that point. *Mataughquamend* of Smith's Map, the present *Mattawomen* Creek in Maryland, is placed below both the *Quiyough* River and *Patawomeke* town, but being ten miles above *Acquia* Creek, is proof positive that *Acquia* Creek was a mistaken identity.

*sell it all ouer the country to paint theire bodyes, faces, or Idols; which makes them looke like Blackmores dusted over with siluer. With so much as we could carry we returned to our boate, kindly requiting this kinde king and all his kinde people.**

“The cause of this discovery was to search [for] this mine, of which [Capt] Newport, did assure us that *those small baggs* (we had giuen him), in England he had tryed to hold halfe siluer; but all we got proued of no value; also to search what furs, the best whereof is at *Cuscarawaoke* where is made so

* Arber's Smith, pp. 418, 424.

much Rawranoke or white beads that occasion as much dissention amongst the salvages as gold and siluer amongst Christians." Previously Smith (p. 113) says: "The cause of this discovery was to search for a glistering mettall, the Salvages told vs they had from *Patawomeck* (the which Newport assured that he had tryed to hold halfe siluer)."

Their village having been situated where "the river doth divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient branches," * made it very accessible to the canoes of the Red men from every direction. The river was a

* Arber's Smith, p. 348.

well-traveled waterway, had been for years, and continued so for years afterward, for the transportation of all products of both English and savage industry to the tribes north and west, as we have abundant evidence to prove from the perusal of Smith's works and the works of other early writers.

Smith's mine of graphite, the steatite workshop quarries recently discovered and investigated,* bearing evidences of early labors in the shape of pot-forms, stone tools, and the consequent débris of manufac-

* W. H. Holmes, Quarry Workshop, *Am. Anthropologist*, vol. iii. pp. 1-16; Ancient Soapstone Quarry, *ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 321-330.

ture, shows that all of these mines furnished material and utensils which were greatly desired by more remote tribes in whose country these minerals were not found. The Indians of the river were—as were in fact all the Algonquian tribes previous to the influx of settlers, who crowded them out of competition—more inclined to the peaceful pursuits of trade, manufacture, and agriculture than were their visitors, the warlike Massawomekes.*

* The fact appears that the Patawomekes were not only dealers in graphite, but also miners and peddlers of articles of soapstone or steatite, such as pots, pipes, ornaments, etc. I have been unable to learn whether

The first information Smith had of the Massawomekes—who are now known to have been a people

the exact location of Smith's "Antimony mine" has been discovered or not. Bozman when he wrote did not know the site, and said "we should suppose, that this mine might still be discovered and its ore analyzed by chemists." It may be that the graphite occurred in limited quantities, and that there was not a mountain of it, as supposed by Smith on his brief examination, especially as it was peddled in "little baggs," which indicated its rarity.

A steatite mine has been uncovered by the Bureau of Ethnology since this paper was written, in or about the same locality up the Occoquan Creek. Professor William H. Holmes, in his excellent memoir on the Stone Implements of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tide-water Provinces (15th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology) describes this quarry, which in its topographical aspects corresponds so closely with Cap

of Iroquoian affinity, probably some of those afterward known as the "Eries," and not related in any way

tain John Smith's description that it can hardly be accidental. He says (p. 113 *et seq.*): "The most interesting example of the soapstone quarries examined by the Bureau . . . was the Hetzel-Hunter quarry, near Clifton, Fairfax Co., Va. The quarry is located on a small branch of Bull run, 2 miles southwest of Clifton, and 22 miles a little south of west of Washington City. The steatite outcrops in the bed and banks of a small rivulet, crossing it at right angles, and seems to be an irregular bed or stratum intercalated with the gneiss of the Piedmont formation. It varies from 20 to 40 or 50 feet in thickness; and has a nearly north-and-south strike and a dip of from 70° to 80° toward the west. The ancient peoples probably began work by removing detached or partly detached masses from the stream bed, and then little by little followed the ledge up and into the steep hill-

to the Algonquian tribes of Virginia—was during his first voyage of discovery. He tells us that

side toward the north. This hill is a spur of a low ridge on the west, and is some 40 feet in height. It slopes off rapidly to the junction of the quarry rivulet with another branch two or three hundred feet below. Our investigation developed the fact that there had been two main pits or excavations—a long and wide gallery . . . and higher up a second pit about 20 feet in diameter and 8 or 10 feet deep connected with the first but lying to the left. Soon after beginning work the floor was found to descend with numerous pits and depressions where the superior quality of the stone had led the quarry men to persist in their work. The general level of the floor was maintained for a distance of some 70 feet back into the hill, and the deeper pittings at the back reached 15 or 16 feet beneath the profile of the slope. Much impure stone had been cut away in efforts

when he entered the river of Kuskarawaoke (Nanticoke River, Maryland) the people there "much extolled a great nation called the

to reach the purest masses, and this was a most laborious work. But it is safe to say that one-half or three-fourths of the excavation was accomplished by cutting out, with chisels and picks, the solid and massive steatite. The whole surface, with its nodes and humps and depressions, covered everywhere with the markings, groovings and pittings of the chisel, presents a striking example of the effectiveness of native methods and the persistence of native efforts.

"Traces of an old village site were discovered on the stream bank, a hundred yards or more below the quarry, and here various objects of steatite, including a partially shaped but broken pipe, were found. The more ordinary dwelling sites of the operators of this quarry were doubtless on

Massawomekes." * This expression, "much extolled," shows that the natives living on this river were friendly and in close relations with this northern tribe, who visited them for the purpose of bartering their furs for the "white beads they made," as the name *Kuskarawaoke*

the larger streams below, and probably extended far down the Potomac. This quarry cannot be a great many miles from the 'antimony mines' reported by the native guides to the Englishmen who first explored the Potomac. The fact that these people were enterprising enough to work an 'antimony mine,' suggests the probable identity of these Indians with the workers of the soapstone mines as well as of the quartzite quarries of the general region."

* Arber's Smith, p. 111.

denotes.* In construing Smith's statement it will be noticed that I differ wholly from Bozman, † for he does not think "much extolled" implies alliance.‡

My friend Dr. A. S. Gatschet, in his essay on the Massawomekes,§ says :

"The Patawomekes or Poto'maks coincides in its termination so closely with that of the Massawom-

* Arber's Smith, pp. 415, 418.

† History of Maryland, vol. i. p. 112.

‡ "It is true, they are said by him, to have 'much extolled a great nation called *Massawomekes*,' but this does not necessarily imply that they were then in alliance with them. They might more probably extolled them from fear than friendship."

§ Am. Antiquarian, vol. iii. 321.

akes that we can assume the same origin for both. In the majority of the Algonkin languages a term like *Massa* means 'large,' 'great,' and *-ek* is either the locative ending *-ik*, *-k*, *-q*, or more probably the suffix of the anim. plural, *-gi*, *-ki*, occurring, *e. g.*, in Shawnee; *ome* is supposed by A. L. Guss, Esq., to mean lake or water."

Dr. Gatschet accepts Heckewelder's translation of Patawomeke, "we have come by water," and gives that of the Massawomekes, "those on a great water." I agree with this noted philologist that the terminations of the two are identical, but differ entirely from his con-

clusion as to their significations. He may not agree with it at the present moment. The publication of Arber's Smith since he wrote his essay has solved many vexatious problems; therefore our light of the present is better than was his of the past.

It is impossible to evolve the radical *-pe* or *-mp*, "water," which is characteristic in the Powhatan, as in all Algonquian languages, from either name. The definition of *-ome* as "lake," or "water," by Mr. Guss is merely a supposition which will not stand the light of critical analysis. The prefix *Massa*, frequently in many dialects of the

family, means "great"; but in this instance I cannot believe it has that meaning, for the reason that *maco* or *macha* is the Powhatan equivalent found in *Maco comaco*, a town on the Patuxent River,* and in "*Macha comocko*, house of the town," on the Chickahominy River.† Both of these have been translated by Strachey‡ and by Dr. Trumbull§ as "great house." Accordingly, by placing the accent on the penult and hyphenizing the name as in the previous study, we have *Massaw-ómeke*s or *Massow-ómeke*s,

* Smith's Map.

† Smith, p. 538.

‡ Am. Anthropologist, vol. vi. p. 57.

§ Hist. Mag., No. 1, vol. vii. p. 47.

exhibiting Smith's two variants of its main component. This synthesis presents to view something different to be analyzed and proves conclusively to my mind that *Massaw* or *Massow* is the cognate of the Massachusetts (Eliot) *Mushoon* or *Mishoon*, (Cotton) *Musshóan*, Montauk (Gardiner) *Mashueé*, Pequot (Stiles) *Meshwe*, "a canoe." In confirmation of this presentation, Strachey's Dictionary has *uppoushun* *Mushower*, "the shippes go home"; literally, "they go over, the boats do"; also *Mussow-uxac*, "a ship"; literally, "boat of the strangers"; *uxac* (= *onnux* [New England], *wunnux* [Montauk], "white men or

strangers"), thus making, with its constituents, *Massow-ómeke*, "those who go and come by boat," the parallel of the Narragansett (Williams) *Mishoonhomwock*, "they go and come by water—*i. e.*, by boat." The same name in a variety of forms, but with a localizing affix, occurs in many places throughout New England, applied to necks or points of land where it was convenient for crossing to another place in a boat; in other words, a ferry. Those which are least altered in form are *Mushawwomuk*, the name for Boston, describing the ferry to Charlestown; * *Mishawomet*, a neck

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1866, p. 376.

of land in Warwick, R. I.; * *Meshomac* or *Mashomuk*, neck on the southern point of Shelter Island, N. Y., opposite Sag Harbor, where they formerly crossed in order to go to Montauk or to Three Mile Harbor.† The ferry for the past 150 years has been farther to the northwest, between Shelter Island and North Haven.

It has been erroneously stated that Smith gave the meaning as "those on a great water." What Smith really did say was this: "Many descriptions and discourses they made vs, of *Atquanachuck*,

* Parsons' Indian Names in Rhode Island.

† See United States Coast Survey map.

Massawomek, and other people, signifying they inhabit vpon a great water beyond the mountains . . . but the *Atquanachuks* are on the Ocean Sea." * Here he applies the term "people" to both of these names; and his "signifying" is evidently used here in the sense "they made known by signs," as applied to *Atquanachuck* = "those beyond or at the end of the mountains or hills," and to the *Massawomeks*, "those that travel by boat" †; one

* Arber's Smith, p. 423.

† Bozman, who still remains a good authority, although sometimes mistaken in his conclusions (Hist. Maryland, vol. i. p. 113), says: "But in speaking of the *Massawomecks*, as they existed at the time of

people being located on the tide-water of Delaware bay or river and the other on the "Great Lakes" shows that Smith's statement "that they inhabit vpon a great water beyond the mountaines" really applied to both people.*

Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake, there is certainly some inaccuracy in supposing them to have been 'the ancestors of the six nations' [as Jefferson stated, Notes on Virginia]. They must have been the Five Nations themselves (if their identity with the *Massawomecks* be assumed) then in the year 1608, well known by the French under the denomination of the Iroquois, as inhabiting the country round about those small northern lakes in the present State of New York, which are in the neighborhood of the greater Lakes of Ontario and Erie."

* See Smith's Map.

Smith's valuable and interesting recitals are strongly corroborative of this study, viz.: "Seaven-boats full of these *Massawomeks* the discoverers encountred at the head of the Bay; . . . they much exceeded them of our parts: and their dexteritie in their small boats made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke, and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water."* Again he says: "From thence returning we met 7 Canowes of the *Massawomeks*." † Mosco, an Indian of *Wighcocomaco*, ‡ in interpreting

* Arber's Smith, p. 72. † *Ibid.*, p. 349.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

one of the *Hassiningas* (= "those that live in caves or rock-shelters"),* whom Smith and his companions captured, said: "The *Massawomeks* did dwell vpon a great water, and had many boats, and so many men that they made warre with all the world."† Captain Henry Spelman relates: "Beinge in the cuntry of the Patomecke the peopel of Masomeck weare brought thether in

* *Hassiningas* or *Hassinungas* (= Massachusetts [Eliot] *hassunnegk*, "cave" Gen. xxiii. 9, 17; *hassunonoggut*, "holes of the rocks," Jer. xvi. 16) from *hassun*, "rock"; *wonogk* or *wonoggut*, "den," "cave" or "hole" (Job xxxviii. 40). See paper on the Algonquian Names of the Siouan tribes of Virginia in this series.

† Arber's Smith, p. 428.

Canoes which is a kind of Boate they haue made in the forme of an Hoggs trowgh But sumwhat more hollowed in.”* Captain Henry Fleet,† in his conference with the *Massawomekes* on the 13th of June, 1632, writes: “Divers were the imaginations that I did conceive

*Smith says (Arber's Smith, p. 364): “Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coales with stones and shels, till they have it made in form like a Trough. Some of these are an elne deep and forty or fiftie foote in length, and some will bear 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30 according to their bignesse. Instead of Oares they use Paddles and stickes with which they row faster than our Barge.”

†Neill's Founders of Maryland, Albany, 1876.

about this discovery and understanding that the river was not for shipping where the people were [where the Massawomekes lived] not yet for boats, but for canoes only I found all my neighboring Indians [Anacostias] to be against my design [of visiting the Massawomekes] the Pascatowies having had great slaughter formerly by them to the number of one thousand persons in my time.* They coming in their

* Mr. James Mooney remarks (Siouan Tribes of the East, p. 12) : " From the very first we find these pitiless destroyers making war on everything outside the narrow limits of their confederacy, pursuing their victims on the one hand to the very gates of Boston and on the other to the banks of the Mississippi, and making their name a

birchen canoes did seek to withstand me from having trade with the other Indians." * It will be ob-

synonym for death and destruction from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. Community of blood or affinity of language availed not to turn aside their fury, and the kindred Huron, Erie, and Conestoga suffered alike with the Ottawa and the Illinois." As Lawson says: "They were a sort of people that range several thousand miles, making all prey they lay their hands on." In fact this nation of warlike savages during their career of bloodshed actually slaughtered more red men than has been done by the English since the settlement of the country.

* Charlevoix, 1763, p. 117, says of bark canoes: "I believe that I have already told you that there are two sorts of them, one of Elm Bark, which are wider and more clumsily built, but commonly bigger. I know of none but the Iroquois who have any of this sort. The others are made of

served that Smith and Spelman differ in their descriptions of the boats used. The probability is that both were right, and that the term did not always designate the same people ; for, indeed, all those who happened to come by boat from the north and west would be described alike by the Bark of Birch Trees, of a width less in proportion than their length, and much better made : It is these I am going to describe because all the French, and almost all the savages use them. . . . The Bark of which these Canoes are made, as well as the Ribs and the Bars are sew'd with the Roots of Fir, which are more pliable, and dry much less than the Ozier. All the Seames are gum'd within and without ; but they must be viewed every Day, to see that the Gum is not peeled off. The largest Canoes carry twelve men, two on a Seat ; and 4000 l weight."

the Virginians with whom they came in contact. It is evident that some of the people called the Massaw-óm-ekes used the bark canoe, while others used the wooden dug-out. This can be observed on the Great Lakes to-day. Roger Williams informs us that the *Mishoon* was a boat made of a pine, oak, or chestnut tree hollowed out by burning and scraping. The root, which has a formative affix, seems to have been primarily from *mish*, "wood," "stock," or "trunk of a tree," as in the Narragansett *Wompi-mish*, "chestnut tree"; literally, "white-wood"; *Paugdute - mish*, "oak tree"; Massachusetts (Eliot) *Nooti-*

mish, "oak tree." These two latter mean literally "fire-wood." From descriptions by the early writers the dugout was the only kind of a boat made or used by the Virginians. Strachey gives several other terms for boat from various roots.

This concludes my demonstration ; the most remarkable circumstance in connection with which is that the main components are found in Strachey, where they have been overlooked by all who have endeavored to translate the terms. This fact, together with the terminations agreeing so well with their nominal themes, gives us an analysis which to all appearance is absolutely unquestionable.

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